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# SPEECH

Made by the

RIGHT HONORABLE

# IOHN

Earl of *BRISTOLL*,

IN THE HIGH COVRT

OF

PARLIAMENT,

*May* 20. 1642.

Concerning an ACCOMMODATION.

*Whertunto is added,*

THE COPY OF A LETTER

Sent from the Right Honorable, the Lord *PAGET*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Buckingham*, to the Right Honorable the Earl of *Holland*; shewing the great readinesse of that County, to obey the Ordinance of the Parliament touching the

MILITIA.

*LONDON*, Printed for *W. G.* 1642.

# A SPEECH

Made by the

RIGHT HONORABLE

# IOHN

Earl of BRISTOLL,

IN THE HIGH COVRT

OF

PARLIAMENT:

Concerning an ACCOMMODATION

between

the COPY OF A LETTER

from Sir Hen. Hastings, the Lord PAGET,

Lieutenant of the County of Derby, &c.

to the High Sheriffe the Iustices of Peace

and other Gentlemen of that County, &c.

for the Ordering of the Militia.

LONDON, Printed for W. G. 1642.

XIV

# A SPEECH made by the Right Honorable IOHN Earl of Bristoll, in the high Court of Parliament, May 20. 1642.

My Lords,

I Have spoken so often upon the subject of Accommodation, with so little acceptance, and with so ill successe, that it was in my intention not to have made any further assay in this kind; but my zeale to the peace and happinesse of this Kingdom, and my apprehensions of the neere approaching of our unspeaksble miseries and calamities, suffer me not to be maister of mine own resolutions.

Certainly, this Kingdome hath at all times many advantages over the other Monarchies of *Europe*. As, of Scituation, of plenty of rich commodities, of Power both by Sea and Land: But more particularly at this time, when all our neighbouring States are, by their severall interests, so involved in warre, and with such equalitie of power, that there is not much likelyhood of their mastering one another, nor of having their differences easily compounded. And whereby, we being only admitted to all trades, and to all places: Wealth and Plenty (which ever follow, where trade flourisheth) are in a manner cast upon us.

I shall not trouble your Lordships by putting you in mind of the great and noble undertakings of your Ancestors: Nor shall I passe higher then the times within mine own remembrance.

Queen *Elizabeth* was a Princesse disadvantaged by her Sex, by her age, and chiefly, by her want of Issue: yet if we shall consider the great effects which were wrought upon most of the States of Christendome by this Nation under her prudent government; The growth of the Monarchy of *Spain* chiefly by her impeached; The United Provinces by her protected; The *French* in their greatest miseries relieved; Most of the Princes of *Germany* kept in high respect and reverence towards her and this Kingdome, and the peace and tranquilitie wherein this Kingdome flourished; and which hath bin continued down unto us by the peaceable government of King *Iames* of blessed memory, and of his now Majestie, untill these late unhappy interruptions) We cannot but judge this Nation equally capable, with any other, of Honour, Happinesse, and plentie.

Now, if in stead of this happy condition, in which we have been, and might be, upon a sober and impartiall inquirie we shall find our selves to have bin for some few yeares last past involved in so many troubles and difficulties, and at the present to be seduced to the very brink of miseries and calamities; It is high time for us to consider by what meanes we have been brought into them, and by what means it is most probable we may be brought out of them.

This Kingdome never injoyed so universall a peace, neither hath it any visible enemy in the world either Infidell or Christian. Our Enemies are only of our own house, such as our own dissentions, jealousies, & distractions, have raised up: And certainly where they are found (especially betwixt a King and his people) no other cause of the unhappinesse and misery of a State need to be sought after. For civill discord is a plentifull Source, from whence all miseries and mischiefes flow into a Kingdome.

The Scripture telleth us of the strength of a little City united, and of the instabilitie of a Kingdome divided within it selfe; So that upon a prudent inquirie, we may assigne our own jelousies, and discords, for the chief cause of our past and present troubles, and of our future feares.

It must be confessed, that by the counsell and conduct of evil Ministers, the subject hath cause to censure their just liberties invaded, And from hence have our former distempers grewne: For it is in the body politique of a Monarchie, as in another Naturall body, the health whereof is defined to be, *Partium Corporis æqua temperies*, an equall temper of the parts: So likewise a State is well in health and well dispesed, when Soveraigne powers, and common right, are equally ballanced, and kept in an even temper by just and equitable rules.

And truly, (*My Lords*) by the goodnesse of his Majestie, and by the prudent indeavour of the Parliament, this State is almost reduced to that equall, and even temper, and our sicknesse is rather continued out of fancie and conceit (I meane feares and jelousies) then out of any reall distemper or defect.

I well remember, That before the begining of this Parliament, some Noble Lords presented a Petition unto the King, and in that Petition did set down all or most of the grievances and distempers of the Kingdome, which occurred to them. To these (as I conceive) the Parliament have procured from his Majestie such redresses as are to their good satisfaction.

Many other things for the ease, security, and comfort of the subject, have been, by their great industrie, found and propounded, and by his Majesties goodnesse condescended unto. And now we are come so neere the happinesse of being the most free and most setled Nation in the Christian world; Our dangers and miseries will grow greater and neerer unto us every day then other if they be not prevented.

The King on his part offereth to concurre with us in the setling of all the liberties and immunities either for the propriety of our goods, or liberty of our persons, which we have received from our ancestors, or which himselfe hath granted unto us; And what shall yet remain for the good and comfort of his Subjects, He is willing to hearken to our just and reasonable proportions: And for the establishing of the true Protestant Religion,



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he wones us to it. And the wisdom and industrie of the Parliament hath now put it in a hopefull way.

The rule of this government, he professeth, shall be, The Laws of the Kingdom. And for the comforting and securing of us he offereth a more large and more generall pardon then hath been granted by any of his Predecessors.

And truly (*My Lords*) This is all, that ever was or can be pretended unto by us.

We on the other side make profession, That we intend to make his Majestie a glorious King. To indeavour to support his dignitie, and to pay unto him that duty and Obedience, which, by our Allegeance, severall Oathes, and late Protestation we owe unto him, and to maintain all his just Regalities and Prerogatives, which I conceive to be as much as his Majestie will expect from us.

So that (*My Lords*) we (being both thus reciprocally agreed of that which in the generall would make both the King and people happy) shall be most unfortunate, if we shall not bring both inclinations and indeavours so to propound and settle particulars, as both King and people may know what will give them mutuall satisfaction, which certainly must be the first stepp to the setling of a right understanding betwixt them. And in this I should not conceive any great difficulty, if it were once put into a way of preparation. But the greatest difficultie may seeme to be, how that which may be setled and agreed upon may be secured. This is, commonly, the last point in Treaties betwixt Princes, and of the greatest niceness. But much more betixt a King and his Subjects, where that confidence & belief which should be betwixt them, is once lost: And to speake cleerly, I feare, that this may be our case, and herein may consist the chiefest difficulty of accommodation. For it is much easier to compose differences arising from reason (yea even from wrongs) then it is to satisfy jealousies, which arising out of the diffidence & distrust, grow and are varied upon every occassion.

But (*My Lords*) if there be no indeavours to slay and remove them, they will every day increase and gather strength; Nay they are already grown to that height, and the mutuall replies to those direct termes of opposition, That if we make not a present stay, it is to be feared, it will speedily passe further then verball contestations.

I observe in some of His Majesties Answers, a Civill War spoken of. I confesse it is a word of horror to me who have been an eye-witnesse of those unexpressible calamities, it (in a short time) the most plentifull, and flourishing Countries of Europe have been brought unto by an intestine warre.

I further observe, that His Majestie protesteth against the miseries that may ensue by a warre, and that he is cleere of them. It is true, what a perfection

Proclamation of that kinde is no actuall denouncing of Warre, but it is the very next degree to it, *Vltimæ admonitio*, as the Civilians term it, The last admonition; So that we are upon the very brink of our miseries; It is better stepping out of them, then getting out of them: And in a State, the Wisedome of Prevention, is infinitely beyond the Wisedome of Remedies. If for the sins of this Nation, these misunderstandings should produce the last Act of Hostility, it is not almost to be believed, how impossible it were to put any stay to our miseries: For a Civill Warre admits of none of those Conditions, or Quarter, by which cruelty and blood are amongst other enemies kept from extremities: Nay, if it should but so happen (which God of his goodnesse avert) That mutually forces, and Armies should be raised, Jealousies and Feare would be so much encreased thereby, that any Accommodation would be rendered full of difficulty and length; and the very charge of maintaining them, (whilst first a cessation of Armes, and then a generall Accommodation were in treating) the Wealth of the Kingdom would be consumed.

And of this we had lately a costly example, for in those unhappy troubles betwixt us and *Scotland*, after there was a stop made to any further Acts of Hostility, and a desire of peace expressed on both sides, Commissioner nominated, and all the Articles propounded, yet the keeping of the Armies together for our securities (whilst the cessation at *Ripon*, and the peace at *London* were in treating) cost this Kingdome not much lesse then a Million of pounds. And if two Armies be once on foot here in *England*, either a sudden encounter must destroy one of them, or the keeping of them both on foot must destroy the Kingdom.

I hope therefore we shall make it our endeavour by moderation, and (almost) yet to put a stay to our so neer approaching miseries, and that we shall hearken to the wise advice of our Brethren of *Scotland*, in their late Answer to the King and Parliament, wherein they earnestly intreat us, That all means may be forborn which may make the breach wider, and the wound deeper; And that no place be given to the evill spirit of Division, which at such times worketh incessantly, and resteth not: But that the safest, the most Christian and compendious way may be taken by so wise a King and Parliament, as may (against all malice and opposition) make his Majesty and his Posterity more glorious, and his Kingdome more happy then ever. And in another place they say, That since the Parliament have thought meet to draw the practice of the Parliament of *Scotland* into example, as point of Declaration: They are confident that the precedent of the Parliament will lead them also to the practice of that Kingdom in composing the unhappy differences betwixt his Majesty and them, and (so farre as may consist with their Religion, Liberties, and Lawes) in giving his Ma-

Certainly (My Lords) this is wise and brotherly advice; And I doubt not but we are all desirous to follow it. We must not then still dwell upon generals (For generals produce nothing) But we must put this businesse into a certain way, whereby particulars may be descended unto; And the way that I shall offer with all humility is, That there may be a select Committee of choyce persons of both Houses, who may, in the first place, truly state and set down all things in difference betwixt the King and the Subjects, with the most probable wayes of reconciling them. Secondly, to descend into the particulars, which may be expected by each from other, either in point of our supporting of him, or his relieving of us. And lastly, how all these Conditions, being agreed upon, may be so secured, as may stand with the honour of His Majestie, and the satisfaction of the Subject.

When such a Committee shall have drawn up the heads of the Propositions, and the way of securing them, they may be presented unto the Houses, and so offered unto His Majestie by such a way as the Parliament shall judge most probable to produce an Accommodation.

(My Lord) What have I yet said unto you, hath been chiefly grounded upon the apprehensions and fears of our future dangers. I shall say somthing of the unhappinesse of our present estate, which chiefly standeth in as much need of relief and remedy, as our fears do of prevention; for, although the King and people were fully united, and that all men that now draw severall wayes, should unanimously set their hand to the work, yet they would find it no easie task to restore this Kingdom to a prosperous and comfortable condition: If we take into our consideration the deplorable estate of Ireland, likely to drain this kingdom of men and treasure; If we consider the debts and necessity of the Crown, the ingagements of the Kingdom, the great and unusuall contributions of the people, the which, although they may not be so much to their discontent (for that they have been legally raised) yet the burthen hath not been much eased: Let us likewise consider the distractions (I may almost call them confusions in point of Religion) which of all other distempers, are most dangerous and destructive to the peace of a State.

Besides these publick calamities, let every particular man consider the distracted and discomfortable estate of his own condition; for mine own part, I most ingeniously professe unto your Lordships, That I cannot finde out, (under the different Commands of the King and the Parliament) any such course of caution and warinesse, by which I can promise to my self security or safety. I could give your Lordships many instances of the inconsistancie and impossibility of obeying these commands: But I shall trouble you with onely one or two.

The Ordinance of Parliament (now in so great agitation) commandeth all persons in Authority, to put in execution, and all others to obey it according to the Fundamentall Laws of the Land; The king declareth it to be contrary to the Fundamentall Laws, against the Subject, and Rights of Parliament; And commandeth all his Subjects of what degree soever upon their allegiance not to obey the said Ordinance, as they will answer the contrary at their perils.

So likewise in point of the King, commanding the attendance of divers of us upon His person whereunto We are obliged by severall relations of our service and oathes: In case We comply not with his Commands, We are liable to his displeasure, and the losse of those places of Honour and Trust, which We hold under Him: If we obey his Commands without the leave of the Parliament, (which hath not been alwayes granted) We are liable to the censure of Parliament; and of both these We want

not forth examples; to this certainly, this cannot but be acknowledged to be an unconfutable

[illegible] will be a ready and obedient heart to pay unto the king all those duties of loyalty, allegiance, and obedience which I owe unto him: And I shall never be wanting towards the Parliament, to pay unto it all those due Rights, and that obedience which we all owe unto it: But in contrary Commands, a conformity of obedience to both, is hardly to be fighted on. The Reconciliation must be in the consciences and the Commands, and not in the Ordinances, or the option that is to obey them: therefore untill it shall please God to bleſſe us with a right understanding betwixt the King and Parliament, and a conformity in their Commands, neither the Kingdom in publique, nor particular men in private can be reduced to a safe or comfortable condition.

I have said thus much to give occasion to others, to offer likewise their opinions: For we shall sit still, and nothing (tending to the stay of the unhappy misunderstanding betwixt the King and his People) be propounded; it is to be feared, That our miseries will hasten to fall, and opportunity of applying remedies may be past.

I have herein discharged my conscience, suitable to that duty which I owe to the King my Soveraigne and Master, and humble to that zeal and affection, which I shall ever pay to the happinesse and prosperity of the Kingdome, towards which I shall cheerfully contribute my humble prayers, and honest indeavours. And I shall no way doubt (whatsoever success this my proposition may have) it will be accompanied with the good wishes of your Lordships, and of all peaceable, and well minded men.

*The Copy of a Letter sent from the Right Honorable the Lord* Paget, *Lord Lieutenant of the County of* Buckingham, *To the Right Honorable the Earl of* Holland; *shewing the great readinesse of that County, to obey the Ordinance of the Parliament touching the* Militia.

I Have received so great expressions of my Countrey-men of Buckinghamshire, of their good affections to the Publique, and ready Obedience to the commands of Parliament, in the present Muster this day begun for a fourth part of this County, that I held it my duty to make your Lordship acquainted therewith, to the end an accompt may be given of it to the Parliament, if your Lordship shall think fit.

Twelve my Deputie Lieutenants met me this morning at Beckonsfield, where we called over the Traine Band, consisting but of one hundred and fifty men, who made a very good appearance with their Armes and supplies, and as full as they have been formerly upon any other summons. Besides these, eighteene Volunteers and upwards within this Division, presented themselves to us very well armed, and exercised in two Companies; more in number then the Trained Band summoned to this place. I am also informed of another Company of an hundred and fifty Volunteries more within this Division, that intend to shew themselves in our way to the next place of meeting, and of another Company of an hundred more, who there intend to meet us, besides the Trained Band.

This publique testimony of my Countreymens good affections, for the safety of the King and Kingdome, I thought not unfit to make known. And rest

*Beckonsfield* 23. *May*, 1642.

*Your Lordships most dutifull son, and humble servant,*

WILL: PAGET.

FINIS.